

REPORT

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Polish Workers Party (PPR)

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1. The PPR Politburo's (BP PPR) foreign policy is based on the following principles:

- (a) Alliance with the USSR.
- (b) Peace and co-operation with other Slav nations.
- (c) Cordial relations with the Anglo-Saxons as long as they accept the present regime.

The BP PPR's ambition is to make Poland, politically and economically, the most active and dynamic state in Europe, exclusive of the USSR.

2. BP PPR's domestic policy aims at consolidation of Poland and assimilation of all political parties to form a strong, united Leftist front. Obstacles to the attainment of this program are:

- (a) national desire for independence -- the "independence complex";
- (b) strength of the Catholic Church;
- (c) antipathy toward Russians, Poles of Russian descent, 25X
- (d) hostile attitude of the masses toward the PPR;
- (e) the uncompromising stand taken against the PPR by such opposition elements as the AK, PSL, and Underground;
- (f) PPR's negligible influence with the youth of Poland.

Factors which the PPR believes will favor its program are:

- (a) progressive tendencies of the workers and peasants;
- (b) general lassitude of the people;
- (c) national desire for stabilization and internal peace.

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25 YEAR RE-REVIEW

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-2-

3. The BP PPR expects to stabilize and pacify the nation by destroying all opposition. As its initial step in this program of destruction, the BP invented the amnesty to reveal and trap the Underground. Its next target was the PSL, which it hopes to destroy through disorganization of its leadership and absorption of its members by PPR and SL. When all opposition is eradicated and the international crisis has passed, the BP PPR will hold elections in accordance with "democratic principles".
4. The PPR's inflexible attitude toward the PSL is illustrated by the recent prosecution of Baginski & Co. for publication of a PSL bulletin citing the UB's crimes and its persecution of the PSL. The BP PPR blames this bulletin for Anglo-Saxon attacks upon the PPR. Baginski was condemned to eight years imprisonment; his companions, to terms varying between three and six years.
5. The PPR's economic policy is based on socialistic principles. Central Committee members responsible for this policy believe it is the quickest road to economic recovery and, as such, must of necessity burden present and future generations. Some dissenting PPR leaders hold that the policy is leading to financial and moral exhaustion, and to a regime based on oppression.
6. The PPR profits most from the nation's income. Its members fill key positions in the Government, the Army, agriculture, industry, security, militia, and private and provincial administration.
7. Some members of the KC PPR (Central Committee of the PPR) criticize the three-year economic plan. They contend that Poland, instead of planning to export enormous quantities of coal, should concentrate on expansion of its own coal derivatives production. Although the following plans have been made in this direction, they are considered inadequate:
 - (a) Activation of a coking plant in connection with the Kosciuszko foundry.
 - (b) Reconstruction of "Anna".
 - (c) Construction of one paint and lacquer factory.
 - (d) Construction of a synthetic gasoline plant in the Oswiecim region.

These same KC members deplore Poland's failure to rehabilitate her gas works. There are, for example, four gas works in the "recovered territories" which remain inoperative even though only slightly damaged.

8. The PPR, actuated by public opinion and intra-party pressure, is purging its ranks of notorious thieves, embezzlers, prostitutes, and recognized collaborationists. At the same time it is conducting a vigorous recruitment program with particular stress being placed upon the selection of professionals, white collar workers, women, and young persons. The recruiting program has as a slogan: "No village, no city, no county, no shop without a PPR cell". Recruitment has been most successful in Silesia where PPR membership has risen from 40 thousand to 140 thousand. Of this total, 70% are workers, indicating that the PPR's success in this area is due to the strong concentration of laborers and their traditionally weak national consciousness. The PPR's white collar membership in Silesia has increased from 5 thousand to 15 thousand, while its enrollment of women has risen from 3 thousand to 30 thousand. The "Huta Bankowa" (Dabrowa) and the "Gen. Zawadzki" mine are the PPR's strongest points in Silesia. Circulation of the "Trybuna Robotnicza", published by the PPR's Provincial Committee, has increased from 100 thousand to 360 thousand.
9. Growing dissatisfaction and dissent in the ranks of the PPR is illustrated by the following opinions expressed at a 6 Apr 47 meeting of county agricultural inspectors held at the WK PPR (Provincial Committee of PPR):
 - (a) Knapik, the delegate from Neisse, in discussing crop planting, stated that one county received no fertilizer or seed grain while other counties received too much and are selling the surplus at black market prices. This situation exists because Silesian members of the provincial ZSCH (Peasant Self Help Union) board discriminate against the repatriates in favor of their own people.

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-3-

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- (b) Zdybal, another delegate, spoke of the bitterness created by unfair division of land. Although acreage is limited by law, the law is frequently circumvented in order that a favored member of the WK PPR may take possession of more land than is legally permitted.
- (c) Kowalczyk, the delegate from Klodzko, complained of excessive charges for mechanical labor on repatriates' farms, citing charges of as much as three thousand zl. for ploughing one hectare by tractor.

Further evidence of dissatisfaction in the ranks of PPR is supplied by a 12 Apr 47 conference of the WK PPR transportation division at Katowice.

- (a) Comrade Zasoj of the Bytom city committee stated that efforts to help Spain through contributions have irritated the people and caused much ridicule, especially by miners who have returned from France.
- (b) Lubas, delegate from Chorzow, stated that the workers are complaining about bad food, "rotten" shoes, and poor protective clothing.
- (c) Malik, delegate from Sosnowiec, attacked the railroad's personnel protection policy, its low wages, and its poor administration as evidenced by the lack of materials to repair cars and locomotives.

Polish Socialist Party (PPS)

10. The CKW PPS (Central Executive Committee of the PPS) takes the following political line:
 - (a) Co-operation with the PPR at present is a political necessity because it will guarantee the defeat of capitalism and the introduction of "social democracy."
 - (b) The PPR cannot control the masses completely without help from the PPS.
 - (c) The PPS, unaided by the PPR, can create a "popular Poland" and carry out the Polish Socialist program.
 - (d) PPS objectives are a united workers front, a united bloc, and a united nation.
 - (e) The PPS has "hardened its core in its tactics of co-operation with the PPR and is driving at balancing out its position toward that party".
11. Drobner, a member of the CKW PPS, described his party's attitude as follows:
 - (a) "We do not tie our lot to any party forever; we are looking for the best way out of this situation, and we expect the PPR to become ready for compromises benefiting us.
 - (b) "We cannot become an anti-Government party now, and leave our ally, the PPR.
 - (c) "Our attitude is founded on national interest, not partisan egotism.
 - (d) "PPS will build Poland with all democratic forces, and will come out against all who wish to disunite her.
 - (e) "In the fight against reaction, PPS must have confidence in the PPR as long as there are any remnants of reaction in Poland.
 - (f) "No one in Poland wants a dictatorship of the proletariat. The nation does not want to live under the whip, but in unity under law.
 - (g) "The PPS did not refuse its services to Poland and will not do so now. It will look for a way out of the labyrinth of battling ideologies, foreign and domestic.
 - (h) "If there are people in the PPS who are afraid of the supremacy of the PPR, we can assure them that the PPS is stronger. The nation looks upon the PPR as a clique."
12. The PPS is growing steadily. Total membership, which stood at approximately 700 thousand in late Apr 1947, is expected to reach one million by the end of June. The Provincial Committee of the PPS in Katowice has directed its lower echelons to

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recruit all the members they can, with a special eye toward teachers and white-collar workers for employment in commissions and National Councils.

13. Growing antagonism between the PPS and the PPR is due, in part, to the PPR practice of forcing PPS personnel from remunerative positions and replacing them with PPR members. PPS's consciousness of its growing strength also has precipitated disputes with the PPR in Lodz, Poznan, Katowice, and Warsaw. The PPS warns PPR members to "get hold of their rucksacks and to get earphones so they can listen to their own trials."
14. Co-operation with the PPR was strongly attacked during a 14 Apr 47 meeting of the Provincial Committee of the PPS at Katowice. The PPR was denounced as interpreting co-operation to mean complete absorption of PPS. Opinions expressed by individual delegates at this meeting were as follows:
 - (a) Gornicza, delegate from Dabrowa, condemned the UB for its arbitrary arrest of two PPS members who had complained of UB's mistreatment of PSL members.
 - (b) The delegate from Klodzki "proved" that the PPR had sent members of the PPS death warrants signed by the German secret organization, "Acht & Acht."
 - (c) Hawelko, delegate from Sosnowiec, cited the export of Polish goods to Moscow under treaty agreements, and proposed that this exploitation of the people's work and possessions be published.
 - (d) The delegate from Bedzin stated that the London Poles were approaching the Polish masses with propaganda aimed at the union of their group with the PPR.
15. Members of the PPS in the city and province of Warsaw are condemning their leaders. They accuse Cyrankiewicz of being a Communist, claiming that he was a traitor to the PPS before 1939 and was ousted from the party.

Polish Peasants Party (PSL)

16. The PSL is irreparably divided over the question of co-operation with the PPR. Mikolajczyk and his right wing are opposed to the Communists; left wing elements favor co-operation with the PPR and elimination of the Underground.
17. At a recent meeting of the Chief Council, Wycech, Zalewski, Domanski, Niesko, Dec, Banach, and Kiernik all demanded a change in party policy. Wycech's group began publication of a weekly, The Peasants and the State, in which Mikolajczyk was attacked and co-operation with the workers' parties was advocated. Mikolajczyk ordered the group to stop its publications, and subsequently suspended group members when they refused. Suspension merely stirred them to further action.
18. On 18 Apr 47 provincial leaders of the PSL left wing conferred at Warsaw. Niesko spoke; Wycech made a political report, and Koter an organizational one. The conference declared PSL suspensions invalid, and decided to enlist the peasant masses by creating provincial and county committees of the PSL-Left.
19. Although the Zalewski-Szajer-Banach group remained with Mikolajczyk's right, it is in contact with the PSL-Left. Still another group, which includes Araszkiewicz, Swirski, Boguslawski, and Korbonski, is definitely critical of Mikolajczyk. Saymanski, Zamierowski, Bodzenta, and Zurakowski, members of the Bialystok Committee, dissolved their committee and transferred its offices to the ZSCH (Peasant Self Help Union). Similar action was taken by County Committees in Bialystok and Lomza and by the Provincial Committee in Lodz.
20. [redacted] the St. Adalbert ceremonies in Gniezno will be used to promote a new Popular Catholic Party. The PPR views this move as an attempted "marriage of Mikolajczyk and the National Democrats".
21. The PPR is capitalizing to the utmost on the political division of the peasantry as exemplified by the PSL split and the internal difficulties of WICI (Association of Peasant Youth).

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Peasants Party (SL)

22. In areas where the PSL has been disbanded by the UB, peasants are joining SL en masse. In the Jaroslaw district, for example, 43 SL branch offices have been created with a total membership of over 3,000. SL leaders in Jaroslaw have contacted the Democratic Committee of the WICI, a possible source for future recruits.

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-5-

23. The Executive Committee of the SL (KKW SL) has decided to create a Council for Unity of the Peasant Movement to co-ordinate policy and study economic and educational problems. It is further designed as the beginning of a "United Peasant Movement" (Zjednoczenie Ruchu Ludowego) to include the entire Polish peasantry.
24. PPR is alarmed by the mass enlistment of peasants in SL. It realizes that SL is not only profiting by the disintegration of PSL, but is capable of matching PPS strength and joining PPS in a coalition against PPR.

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